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ABSTRACT

Effective strategies to raise the employment and income levels of blacks in New York State must be comprehensive, balanced, and informed. Past efforts have failed because they have been narrow, short-run, imbalanced, or based on poor or incomplete information. The State's black population is most heavily concentrated in New York City, where the economy has dramatically shifted from industry to services. While black enterprise development is symbolically useful, better programs to develop small enterprise will have a greater effect. The following effective program approaches deserve special attention: (1) better use of on-the-job education and training, more accessible pathways to higher level jobs, and tutorial and personal support to insure upward mobility for lower level workers; (2) targeted affirmative action efforts to improve the strength of employer resources used to recruit, train, retrain, and upgrade workers; (3) elimination of employer requirements which limit or exclude minority groups from access to jobs or promotions; (4) new and expanded use of apprenticeships to provide access to jobs for youth; (5) implementation of outreach programs for dropouts; (6) economic development programs with a wider focus and better targeting that use the economic potential of the boroughs of New York City other than Manhattan; and (7) innovative use of two- and four-year colleges to support workers who do not seem to respond well to standard higher educational experiences. A 30-item bibliography is appended. (FMW)

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VOLUME 6
LABOR AND EMPLOYMENT

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IMPROVING THE LABOR MARKET STATUS OF BLACK NEW YORKERS

POLICY AND PROGRAM RECOMMENDATIONS

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REPORT OF THE LABOR AND EMPLOYMENT SUBCOMMITTEE

THE GOVERNOR'S ADVISORY COMMITTEE FOR BLACK AFFAIRS

NOVEMBER 1988

MARIO M. CUOMO
GOVERNOR

BERNARD L. CHARLES
CHAIRMAN

ROBERT T. SIMMELKJAER
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

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STATE OF NEW YORK
GOVERNOR'S ADVISORY COMMITTEE FOR BLACK AFFAIRS

November, 1988

BERNARD L. CHARLES
CHAIRMAN
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EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

STATE CAPITOL
2ND FLOOR
ALBANY, NY 12224

TWO WORLD TRADE CENTER, 57TH FL.
NEW YORK, NY 10047

Dear Governor Cuomo:

It is a privilege to submit to you the report of the Subcommittee on Labor and Employment of your Advisory Committee for Black Affairs entitled, IMPROVING THE LABOR MARKET STATUS OF BLACK NEW YORKERS: Policy and Program Recommendations.

More than two decades of official efforts to improve the labor market condition of Blacks have only resulted in incremental changes. This is both a disappointment and a challenge. Clearly the general deterioration of labor market conditions for many working people has played an important role. Without overall improvement, Blacks, along with other disadvantaged groups, are not likely to experience improvement in their occupational status and prospects, job stability, or increases in earnings and standards of living. A rising tide, we know now, does not necessarily lift all boats, but it does provide a more favorable context for more focused and targeted efforts.

We are in a period of state and local experimentation and initiative which is reminiscent of the period prior to the New Deal, when the most creative and interesting efforts to understand and respond to new economic problems occurred at the state level. In this period, New York played its part and contributed important ideas and experiences to the formulation of New Deal programs in economic and social policy. A similar opportunity is now at hand.

The Report of the Subcommittee on Labor and Employment examines the new situation of Black New Yorkers resulting from demographic and other changes in the workforce and the economies at the national and state levels. The report presents a range of policy and programmatic options for consideration by State and local government, educational and labor institutions. These proposals emanate from expert analyses of empirical data, the experiences of Black New Yorkers and the views of Subcommittee members.

Improving the labor market status of Black New Yorkers is both a challenge and an opportunity. This State has many of the preconditions for an effective response to this need within its reach. Our hope is that the ideas and directions presented herein will enable those who must plan and act to do so with greater confidence and provide the degree of commitment necessary to create and sustain the changes which are needed.

We recognize the contributions of the Co-chairpersons of this Subcommittee, Ms. Francesta Farmer and Ms. Linda R. McLean who provided the input for this report and

identified the need to find solutions for the many labor and employment problems affecting Black New Yorkers. We are especially grateful to the research consultants, Dr. Bernard Anderson, Dr. John Jeffries, and Dr. Sumner Rosen whose extensive knowledge of the issues is also reflected in this report.

Invaluable was the leadership and perseverance of our Executive Director, Dr. Robert T. Simmelkjaer who focused the research effort and ensured the completion of the report.

The employment needs of the Black community are great and require concrete and pragmatic remedies which we have attempted to set forth for you, Governor, in a meaningful plan of action. On behalf of the Advisory Committee for Black Affairs, I wish to express our appreciation for the opportunity to examine this critical area of concern to Black New Yorkers.

Sincerely,

Bernard L. Charles
Chairman

STATE OF NEW YORK
GOVERNOR'S ADVISORY COMMITTEE FOR BLACK AFFAIRS

BERNARD L. CHARLES
CHAIRMAN
PAULA CHESTER, J.D.
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EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

STATE CAPITOL
2ND FLOOR
ALBANY, NY 12224

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NEW YORK, NY 10047

November, 1988

Dear Chairman Charles:

The Subcommittee on Labor and Employment of the Governor's Advisory Committee for Black Affairs is pleased to present its final report entitled: IMPROVING THE LABOR MARKET STATUS OF BLACK NEW YORKERS: Policy and Program Recommendations.

The report examines the new situation of Black New Yorkers resulting from demographic and other changes in the workforce and the economies at the national and state levels. The report presents a range of policy and programmatic options for consideration by State and local government, educational and labor institutions. These proposals emanate from expert analyses of empirical data, the experiences of Black New Yorkers and the views of Subcommittee members.

The employment prospects of Black workers in New York are affected by many factors including shifts in the economy; systemic barriers to Black hiring, retention and promotion; and the adequacy and implementation of State programs designed to address these factors. Of particular concern to the Subcommittee is the pervasiveness of Black youth unemployment, significant and immediate attention must be paid to this sector of the workforce for the long-term future health of the Black community and New York State as a whole. Reports of other Subcommittees also demonstrate that the innovative programs benefitting female heads of households, particularly those on public assistance are of co-equal importance.

The Subcommittee hopes that the ideas and directions presented will enable policymakers to decide and act with the confidence and provide the commitment necessary to create and sustain the changes which are needed. It is our belief that the information and recommendations presented in this report will provide Governor Cuomo with clear directions for charting positive policies and programmatic strategiesof benefit to all New Yorkers but with special compassion and relief to our Black communities.

The Subcommittee wishes to extend its appreciation to the research staff, including Ruth C. Browne, the administrative staff, especially Sharon Edwards and Crystal George. We also gratefully acknowledge the rigorous and scholarly work of the principal researchers Dr. Bernard E. Anderson, Dr. John M. Jeffries and Dr. Sumner M. Rosen.

Sincerely,

Francesta E. Farmer, J.D.
Co-Chairperson
Subcommittee on Labor and Employment

Linda R. Mc Lean, J.D., Ed.M.
Co-Chairperson
Subcommittee on Labor and Employment

State of New York

Executive Chamber

No. 66

EXECUTIVE ORDER

ESTABLISHING A GOVERNOR'S ADVISORY COMMITTEE FOR BLACK AFFAIRS

WHEREAS, members of the Black community have contributed significantly to the State and its government to the benefit of all of the people in the State; and

WHEREAS, the State must continue to be responsive to the special needs and concerns of its Black residents; and

WHEREAS, a mechanism must be established to ensure that members of the Black community have opportunities to participate in all levels of government;

NOW, THEREFORE, I, Mario M. Cuomo, Governor of the State of New York, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and the Laws of the State of New York, do hereby order as follows:

I. Governor's Advisory Committee for Black Affairs

There is hereby created a committee to be known as the Governor's Advisory Committee for Black Affairs (the "Committee"). The members of the Committee shall be appointed by the Governor. A chairperson and vice chairperson shall be designated by the Governor. The members of the Committee shall receive no compensation, but shall be entitled to reimbursement for any necessary expenses incurred in connection with the performance of their duties. The Governor shall designate an executive director of the Committee who shall be responsible for its administrative functions.

II. Purpose and Responsibilities of the Committee

1. The Committee shall identify and evaluate areas of particular concern to the Black community and submit recommendations to the Governor for his review. The Committee shall place special emphasis on the following areas:

a. development of increased opportunities for involvement of Blacks in all aspects of State government.

b. coordination of resources to create effective educational, vocational and health training programs.

c. evaluation of policy decisions affecting the Black community.

d. evaluation of programs and services provided by State agencies and their impact on the Black community.

e. development of awareness programs to assist members of the Black community in identifying and participating in programs sponsored by the State and local governments.

2. The Committee shall create a panel, whose members shall be designated subject to the approval of the Governor, to address the unique concerns of the Black family, with particular emphasis on households headed by Black women. The Commissioners of Human Rights, the Director of the Women's Division and the Executive Director of the Council on Children and Families or their designees shall provide assistance and advice to the panel.

3. The Committee shall establish subcommittees, which shall make recommendations concerning the special needs of various Black cultural and ethnic populations, including the Caribbean community. Such subcommittees shall periodically submit reports to the Committee for its consideration and adoption.

4. The Committee, in conjunction with the Governor's Executive Committee for Affirmative Action, shall review the implementation of affirmative action programs designed to increase employment opportunities for Blacks in State government.

5. The Committee shall report on a regular basis to the Governor on its activities.

6. The Committee may request and shall receive from any department, division, board, bureau, commission or agency of the State such assistance and data as will enable it to carry out its purpose and responsibilities hereunder.

G I V E N under my hand and the Privy Seal of the State in the City of Albany this fifth day of June in the year one thousand nine hundred eighty-five

L/S

BY THE GOVERNOR

/s/ Mario M. Cuomo

/s/ Michael J. Del Giudice
Secretary to the Governor

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ANTHONY SPENCER, EXECUTIVE ASSISTANT

BIOGRAPHIES

FRANCESTA FARMER - CO-CHAIRPERSON

Francesta Farmer is an independent consultant and member of the board of the Harlem International Trade Center Corporation. She is the former President of Operation Crossroads Africa, Inc. Immediately prior to assuming this position she was a fellow at Harvard University's John F. Kennedy Institute of Politics. Ms. Farmer has worked as a consultant for a number of organizations in a variety of areas including urban policy, international affairs, minority economic development, voting rights and legislative affairs. Prior to her work as a consultant, Ms. Farmer held several prestigious leadership positions. She served for two years as the Executive Director of the Congressional Black Caucus and Black Caucus Foundation where she developed the People's Platform for the 1984 Democratic National Convention. She served for four years as the Executive Assistant to the Chairperson of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission under the leadership of Eleanor Holmes Norton. In addition, Ms. Farmer was Director of Intergovernmental Affairs for the Office of Civil Rights of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. She was a Legislative Assistant in the Office of Senator Edward Brooke of Massachusetts from 1975-77. Ms. Farmer earned her J.D. degree from Harvard Law School in 1974.

LINDA R. MC LEAN - CO-CHAIRPERSON

Linda R. McLean is Co-chairperson of the Labor and Employment Subcommittee of the Governor's Advisory Committee for Black Affairs and a member of its Economic Development and Finance Subcommittee. She is an Adolescent and Special Education Counselor with the New York City Board of Education and an Employment and Personal Concerns Counselor with Upward Mobility Counseling Services. Prior to this, Ms. Mc Clean was Executive Director of the New Harlem Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) and an Adjunct Lecturer in Management and Law at the Lubin Graduate School of Business of Pace University. Ms. McClean is affiliated with numerous organizations and serves on the Board of Directors of Literacy Volunteers of Westchester County. She is also an active member of the African and American Alumni Association of Vassar College; the New York University School of Law's Black, Latino, Asian-Pacific American Alumni Association and the Shirley Chisholm Cultural Institute for Children, Inc. She has held professional positions in management, law and education with the U.S. Departments of Treasury (Office of the Comptroller of the Currency); Education and Commission on Civil Rights in Washington, D.C. and New York City. Additionally, she has filled executive and planning positions with "A Better Chance" Equitable Life and Ramapo College of New Jersey as well as local political offices in Westchester County. Through the years, Ms. McLean has published articles, participated in preparing national studies and served as a consultant in the areas of youth employment, education, law enforcement and social change. She earned her A.B. in psychology from Vassar College; her Ed.M. in counseling and guidance from Harvard University and her juris doctorate (J.D.) from New York University School of Law.

PRINCIPAL RESEARCHERS

BERNARD E. ANDERSON

Bernard E. Anderson is an internationally respected economist whose most recent affiliations include the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs where he was a visiting fellow. Dr. Anderson is a member of the National Commission on Jobs and Small Business, and serves on the Mayor's Economic Advisory Council of Philadelphia. Prior to his work at Princeton University, Dr. Anderson was director of social sciences at the Rockefeller Foundation in New York. Dr. Anderson lectured from 1969 to 1979 at the Wharton School of Finance and Commerce, University of Pennsylvania. Dr. Anderson is the author of numerous books and articles on business and economics. He earned a Ph.D. in business and applied economics from the University of Pennsylvania in 1970.

JOHN M. JEFFRIES

John M. Jeffries is an economist who has recently been appointed Associate Dean of the New School for Social Research. Prior to this he was a visiting assistant professor at Columbia University's Graduate School of Architecture, Planning and Preservation. Dr. Jeffries was formerly associated with New York University's Urban Research Center. Dr. Jeffries' research interests include labor, urban economics and public policy, with particular emphasis on their implications for minority communities. Prior to his involvement with the Research Center, he was staff economist at the Public Agenda Foundation where he conducted research on employment shifts from manufacturing to service industries in the United States and Western Europe. His current research activities include an examination of minority participation in occupation-specific training at the postsecondary school level, and the design of economic development and training strategies for minority communities in New York City. Dr. Jeffries earned a Ph.D. in economics in 1986 from the New School for Social Research.

SUMNER M. ROSEN

Dr. Sumner Rosen is special assistant to the Director of the Center for Labor Management Policy Studies at the City University of New York Graduate Center. He has been teaching labor market and social welfare policy courses at Columbia University since 1975. Dr. Rosen served as a consultant to the Labor-Industry Task Force of the New York State Department of Health in 1987 and is the author of a major paper on the health care workforce of the year 2000. Dr. Rosen's research interests include labor market, employment, education and training issues. He is responsible for the design of an upward mobility program for the Service Employees International Union which led to the creation of the Union's Lifelong Education and Career Development Program implemented nationwide in the 1980s. Dr. Rosen earned a Ph.D. in industrial economics and relations from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1959.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Effective strategies to raise employment and income levels for Blacks in New York must be comprehensive, balanced and informed. Past efforts have failed to the degree that they have been narrow, short-run, imbalanced or based upon poor or incomplete information. "Balance" means taking into account both the nature and needs of the Black work force and the changing contours of the New York economy. "Comprehensive" implies approaches that take into account the diverse needs of many groups comprising the target population, and understanding what is different as well as what is common to all of them. The immediate needs of those who are at risk or disadvantaged are compelling priorities; these must be accompanied by alternatives to the longer term needs of young people, workers facing dislocation, and those in dead-end jobs or stagnant sectors of the economy. Reliable and usable data are needed to assure a proper balance between the job supply of the future and the work force which fills these jobs. These considerations apply to labor force and labor market policies which affect all groups of the population, but special emphasis must be given to those in need of ameliorative policies and programs -- especially in the Black Community where unemployment and underemployment are endemic without signs of abatement.

More than in most areas, New York's economy has shifted away from industry toward services. New York's Black population is more heavily concentrated in New York City than in any other part of the State, so success with the City's Black population is the key to an effective State program. Black enterprise development, while symbolically useful, will not make a major contribution to the improvement of employment or income for Blacks, but better programs for small enterprise generally will help. New York needs to use the job and earnings potential of its public and its non-profit sectors more effectively . Innovative use of government purchasing power, like "first source" requirements, have shown their value in several places in the United States and merit testing and evaluation in New York.

Despite the decline of manufacturing, more extensive here than in the nation as a whole, the potential for reviving industry merits attention and support, drawing from new models developed in other countries which appear to be applicable to our needs.

There is a rich inventory of experience available from more than twenty years of federal, state and local efforts to improve the job and earnings prospects of Blacks and other disadvantaged groups, but the lessons have not yet been seriously extracted or applied at state or local levels. Uncertainty about future resources or adequacy of federal labor market programs makes it important that New York commit resources to examining, assessing and adapting these lessons to its needs in a period when state and local governments are at the cutting edge of policy development.

Program approaches used or tested over recent decades that merit special attention include:

- Much better use of the potential of "internal labor markets" of larger private, public and non-profit employers, to insure upward mobility for lower level workers, many of them Black, through effective use of on-the-job education and training, more accessible pathways to higher level jobs, tutorial and personal supports developed and implemented in several prior programs.

- Targeted affirmative action efforts that can yield good progress in improving the strength of employer resources used to recruit, train, retain, and upgrade workers. Such efforts mesh well with the internal labor market approaches recommended in this paper.

- Examination and elimination of employer requirements which may limit or exclude groups from access to jobs at entry level or to better jobs need far more scrutiny and revision than has generally been recognized.

- New and expanded use of the time-tested model of apprenticeship. These "training" programs often provide access to good jobs for young people in a variety of occupations and sectors which have not had substantial minority or female representation in the past; apprenticeship is an attractive way to link unions and employers in a common effort which yields important social as well as economic gains.

- Education for young people still in school, and for those who have dropped out or are at risk of dropping out. This is a major challenge to government at all levels. The urgency of reducing dropout rates is well understood now, but less attention has been paid than is required to reaching dropouts and to bringing them back into the education-job framework.

- Economic development efforts with a wider focus and better targeting than has been the case thus far. Particular attention should be paid to the job and economic potential of the boroughs of New York City other than Manhattan.

- Innovative use of four-year and two-year colleges, with which New York is richly endowed. These institutions have the potential to make a major contribution to the lives of Black and other workers who need or will need the tools to adapt to a rapidly changing economy. Efforts here and elsewhere have shown that higher education can be made more "user friendly" and can provide effective support to workers for whom the standard educational experience does not work well. In this instance also union-sponsored programs of higher education in New York have demonstrated that much can be done to open the doors to those lacking conventional prerequisites.

Prospects for better programs and progress for Blacks will depend in major ways on the overall buoyancy and level of job availability in the economy as a whole; it is necessary but not a sufficient condition for meaningful progress for Blacks and others. State governments are not the only key; federal programs and policies are of central importance. But state governors can raise the issue and use their influence and concern to make the case for full employment programs. Demographic indicators provide contradictory signs. On the one hand the number of young people seeking jobs is declining from recent "baby boom" levels, which provides grounds for cautious optimism. On the other hand the non-white share of the labor force in New York City is rising rapidly, raising the costs of providing education, training and job-related services

to those who enter the job market poorly prepared by their education and lacking the linkages to the job market which are often the keys to success for white youth. Recognition of the level and complexity of the problem, and a serious commitment by government, labor and business will determine the degree to which the needs of New York's Black population are met.

INTRODUCTION

More than two decades of official efforts to improve the labor market condition of Blacks have had only small effects. This is both a disappointment and a challenge. Clearly the general deterioration of labor market conditions for many working people has played an important role; without overall improvement, Blacks, along with other disadvantaged groups, are not likely to experience improvement in their occupational status and prospects, job stability, or increases in earnings and standards of living. A rising tide, we know now, does not necessarily lift all boats but it does provide a more favorable context for more focused and targeted efforts. More effective efforts to secure and sustain full employment, to restore economic growth, and to raise levels of productivity at the national level will go far to enable public and private participants in the economy, in education, and in other facets of society to achieve greater progress for Blacks and others left out or left behind.

At the same time, there are important roles to be played at the state and local level. The U.S. economy in recent years has demonstrated increasing variety at the state, local and regional levels in its adaptation to new circumstances and development of new approaches. This process of greater decentralization has been stimulated by the lower level of energy and activity at the federal level, in part a response to ideological direction and in part a natural swinging of the historic pendulum. We are in a period of state and local experimentation and initiative which reminds some observers of the period prior to the New Deal when the most creative and interesting efforts to understand and respond to new economic problems occurred at the state level; in this period New York played its part and contributed important ideas and experience to the construction of New Deal programs in economic and social policy. A similar opportunity is now at hand.

This report examines the new situation in which Blacks find themselves as a result of the changes which have taken place and which continue to operate in the economy and in the labor force. It represents a range of policy options which merit attention and serious consideration for the policy decisions of government, business, labor and education. These proposals come from a rich empiric experience which has accumulated in recent decades, from the analyses of experts who have looked most closely at the situation of Blacks, from the work of various official commissions and other agencies, and from the experiences of the subcommittee members as both practitioners and analysts.

An effective strategy will require a balanced approach which takes into account both the changing nature, structure and relationships of the New York economy and the shifts which have taken place in the labor markets which are the means through which workers and potential workers on the one hand, and those who employ - or decline to employ - them on the other. The Black labor force, like the labor force overall, includes different characteristics and needs. No single approach will respond effectively or equitably to both the characteristics and the needs. Different program approaches involve different kinds of expertise, policy content, program structure, etc., and produce their results over different time frames as well as involving government, business, labor, education, community agencies and others in tasks and relationships which vary.

We can benefit from approaches which have been developed in other places in the United States and in countries which have learned important lessons about education, training, upward mobility, incentives to employers, measures to stabilize employment, and other ideas which have made it possible for modern industrial and post-industrial economies to adapt to change without reducing the living standards, job opportunities, rewards from work and future prospects of those in their labor force who are at greatest risk.

A time of crisis is both a challenge and an opportunity. We have many of the preconditions for an effective response within our reach. Our hope here is that the ideas and directions presented will enable those who must decide and act to do so with greater confidence and the degree of commitment necessary to create and sustain the changes which are needed.

The Changing Economy and Labor Force

The employment prospects of black workers in New York have two dimensions:

1. The changing structure of the economy and its implications for job gains, job losses, and job opportunities;

2. The particular barriers which blacks face as they confront these changes, and the adequacy of policies and programs intended to reduce or eliminate these barriers.

This report therefore deals first with the changes which have already taken place and those which can be anticipated, and second with the impact of these changes on blacks. Existing and proposed programs are best evaluated against this analysis.

New York has a long experience with immigrants, Blacks and others seeking better opportunities and lives. New York was a magnet for Blacks and others from the South and from the Caribbean islands throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The transformation of southern agriculture after World War II accelerated the flow of rural Blacks to the north, including New York. Tighter labor markets during periods of post-war prosperity helped to advance Black workers in the industrial and occupational spectrum; Blacks in New York generally showed higher levels of income, largely from wages and salaries, than in other parts of the United States.

The different rates of population growth among whites, Blacks and hispanics on the one hand, and the demographic characteristics of the different groups on the other, led the BLS to conclude[1] that whites are on the way to becoming a minority of the city's labor force. In 1987 Blacks constituted 29 percent, and hispanics 21 percent of the labor force, just short of a majority together. This minority labor force would be higher were it not for low rates of labor force participation among Blacks; since 1967 the participation rate has risen steadily in the United States but fell during much of that period in New York so that by 1987 the difference was more than ten percent, the highest gap recorded.

Herbert Bienstock points out that the declining birth rate has already reduced the number of young entrants in the labor force and this will continue, at least through the year 2000. The white share of the New York City labor force has been declining and this will continue. In 1987 a bare majority of the city's work force was white; 29 percent were Black and 21 percent Hispanic.

In 1988 the measured unemployment rate in New York City reached a 17 year low of 4.5 percent, compared with 3.8 percent for the New York-Northeastern New Jersey region and the total number of jobs reached a 16 year high of 3,620,000. The Black rate of measured unemployment, 7.0 percent, was almost double the white rate of 3.6 percent.

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1 *News Release, December 14, 1987.*

The transition from a manufacturing to a service economy has been developed everywhere in the United States but is more advanced in New York than in most places; the decline of manufacturing as a share of employment has proceeded much faster in New York as well, particularly in New York City where manufacturing accounted for 374,600 jobs in the first half of 1988, 12.3 percent of private sector jobs and 10.3 percent of all jobs, a record low, after a 1967-77 decline of 159,800.

For the U.S. manufacturing employment held fairly steady between 1970 and 1986, from 20.7 million to 21.0 million, but dropped in relative share of total jobs from 26 percent to 19 percent. Within manufacturing, durable goods fared better than nondurables. In 1970, nondurables were 40 percent of the value of all manufactured goods, dropping by 1986 to 36 percent. This helps to explain New York's loss of manufacturing jobs; nondurables, notably garments, were and remain the core of the city's manufacturing sector and have been eroded by many of the forces which were at work in other areas as well as this one. In 1986 durable manufacturing accounted for 11 million jobs, 59 percent of the manufacturing total, in the United States.

New York is preeminently a small business economy; in New York City small firms account for more than 98 percent of all firms and employ nearly half of all workers.[2]

New York City bulks larger in the State's economy than does any city in any other state, accounting for 41 percent of the State's population and personal income, and 45 percent of total employment (in 1969 the city accounted for 53 percent of all jobs in the State and 43 percent of the State population). By contrast Chicago represents 26 percent of the population of Illinois, Detroit 15 percent of the population of Michigan, and Los Angeles 12 percent of California's population. New York City's employees are 46 percent of all local government employees in the state, almost twice the next highest city, Baltimore, which has 24 percent of the employees in Maryland.

Of all the large states New York has the largest Black population, and the highest Black share of the total population. Only Illinois ranks close in both respects. The Black share of the total population in 1988 is estimated at 16.3 percent, a total of 2.8 million, projected to 3.2 million, 17.7 percent of the total, by 2000.[3] Seventy-four percent of all Blacks in New York State live in New York City, down somewhat from the 77 percent level in1960 and 1970, and the peak of 81 percent in 1950. The Black non-Hispanic share of the population of New York City rose from 19 percent in 1970 to 24 percent in 1980, 25 percent in 1985 and is projected to reach 28 percent in 1990. In many respects, then, the job situation and prospects of Blacks in New York City will determine the status of Blacks Statewide.

New York, in common with the country as a whole, has seen no increase in the number of Black teenagers joining the labor force and the disparity in employment levels

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2 *New York Ascendant, p. 31.*

3 *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1988.*

continues to widen between white and black teenagers.[4] There is a clear and disturbing relationship between this fact and the steady increase in female-headed families; the low level of labor force participation among young Black males and rising unemployment rates are important factors producing rates of poverty in New York which are substantially above the (disturbingly high) national rates. This represents a deterioration compared with the early 1970s when labor force participation rates for Black males in New York were higher than for Blacks elsewhere, and closer to white rates.

Prior to the economic decline of the 1970s in New York City Black males in the city's economy showed higher rates of labor force participation and lower rates of unemployment than did Blacks nationally. During the 1970s the status of Black males deteriorated; unemployment rose, and participation rates fell. Minority women underwent a similar deterioration, less marked, though the female share of the minority work force, as for the total work force, increased. The period since the recovery began in 1977 has seen little recovery from this deterioration for Blacks, particularly males and youth.

For young Black males the employment-population ratio nationally was 19 percent in 1983 compared to 46 percent for whites but in New York City the rate was only 12 percent.

In 1971-72 whites constituted 43 percent of all tenth grade pupils enrolled in public schools in New York City; by 1979-80 this share had fallen to 29 percent. Whites were 53 percent of the total twelfth grade enrollment in 1973-74, Blacks 29 percent; the cohort moving from tenth to twelfth had fallen by 42 percent, more among Blacks and Hispanics than among whites. The white share of the twelfth grade enrollment in 1981-82 was 39 percent compared to 29 percent for that group two years earlier, and the Black share, which had been 43 percent in the tenth grade fell to 38 percent when this group reached the twelfth grade.[5]

At the same time the percent of the population with four or more years of college in New York City rose slightly faster among Blacks than whites between 1980 and 1985, but remained about half of the white rate in that year:

PERCENT COMPLETING FOUR OR
MORE YEARS OF COLLEGE

	1980	1985
White	20.8	22.9
Black	8.4	11.9
Hispanic	5.9	5.8

(Source: "Poverty in New York City 1980-1985," p. 20, Community Service Society)

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4 *New York Ascendant, p. 62.*

5 *Emanuel Tobier, The Changing Face of Poverty - Trends in New York City's Population in Poverty, 1960-1990, Community Service Society, 1984, p. 95.*

In 1985 the total civilian labor force for New York State was 8.3 million of whom 1.1 million, or 13 percent, were Black. The share of the population in the labor force was 60.7 percent overall, 57.3 percent for Blacks, indicating a level of potential workers among Blacks higher than the number actually in the labor force. If the rates were the same the number of Blacks would be 23,000 more than the number shown and measured unemployment rates would no doubt be higher. In 1986 the overall percentage rose somewhat, to 62.0 percent in the third quarter, while the Black percentage fell from 57.3 percent to 56.2 percent. Any target goals for black employment need to take these differences into account; the goal is not only to reduce or eliminate unequal opportunities among members of the labor force but also to encourage more Blacks to join the labor force. In the early 1970s Black participation in the labor force in New York was higher than white, by this measure; the differences thereafter were not large but they widened somewhat as the 1980s progressed.[6]

Absence from the labor market is particularly acute among Black youth age 16-19. Among all young people the participation rate in 1986 was 56.4 percent, little changed from the 1970 level; for 20-24 year olds the rates rose steadily over that period, from 57.7 percent to 72.4 percent. In New York City the employment-population ratio (EPR) for Blacks 16-19 is far below that of whites, about half of what it was in 1970 and about half of the (slowly declining) rate for whites. Rates for all youth are substantially below national levels but the rate for Black (and Hispanic) youth is bedrock, 12 percent in 1983. Estimates based on census data by the BLS are that there are more than 50,000 dropouts in New York City aged 16 to 19, 80 percent are minority members, and that in 1987 three fifths of all male dropouts aged 20-24 were jobless or had left the labor force. The effects of high unemployment and low schooling levels clearly exerts its impact into adulthood and beyond.[7]

The most recent measurements by the BLS show that for all age groups and for both men and women, the share of the population 16 and over not at work, or in the labor force exceeds the national level, but the gap is widest among 16-19 year olds; among that group more than nine out of ten are either unemployed or are not seeking employment:

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6 *Bernard E. Anderson, "Black Employment and Structural Change in New York," October, 1987, Tables 1 and 2.*

7 *Tobier, op.cit., pp. 90-91.*

PERCENT UNEMPLOYED OR NOT LOOKING
FOR JOBS FIRST HALF OF 1988

	U.S.	New York City
All people 16 and over	40.3	49.8
White	39.1	49.4
Black	49.3	52.5
Hispanic	41.7	56.0
16-19 years old	63.2	93.6
20 years and over	38.5	47.0
Men	27.4	32.8
Women	48.4	58.6

Source: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Middle Atlantic Regional Office, 1988 Mid-Year Report, August 2, 1988, p..17.

Other measures show similar and disturbing trends. In 1970, when the economic decline of the city had just begun, the unemployment rate among Black youth was 22.2 percent. By 1977, the first year of recovery after the decline, it had reached 45.0 percent. But in 1984 and 1985, when the economic recovery was well under way, these levels failed to decline; the unemployment rate for Black youth was 50.3 percent in 1984, 42.5 percent in 1985, just about equal to the 1977 level and almost double the rate in the early 1970s. Measured as a share of the population 16-19 years of age, the percent of Blacks in the labor force in New York State was 35.3 percent in 1970, falling by 1975 to 24.6 percent; in 1985 it was 26.9 percent, slightly above the pre-recession level for 1975, after several years of economic "recovery."[8] State and city trends followed parallel paths.

The post-1977 recovery from the steep economic decline which reduced job levels sharply after 1969 has provided smaller gains for New York workers, particularly Blacks and Hispanics, compared with the gains achieved by whites and by residents living outside New York.[9] By 1985 participation rates in the labor force had reached new lows for Black males in New York City, 8.2 percent below the figure for white males. Unemployment rates for Black males were 15.2 percent in 1985 compared with 5.5 per-

8 *Anderson, op.cit., Table 5.*

9 *Tobier, op. cit., pp. 83-93.*

cent for white males, a ratio well above the national one. 1987 saw further reductions in unemployment. For New York State the share of the population in the labor force was still higher for whites than Blacks, and the unemployment rate among Blacks was more than double that for whites.[10] In New York City the number of jobs rose by 170,000, or five percent between 1977 and 1983 but the number of jobs held by city residents remained stable.

National data for 1987 show that the share of the Black labor force with four years of high school actually exceeded that of the white labor force, 42.6 percent compared with 40.2 but that the historic deficits remain significant for post-high school education. Whites with some college and post-graduate education were 42.6 percent of the total in the labor force compared with 31.8 for Blacks. The largest drop-off occurs between those with 1-3 years of college, which would include the community college student body, and those with college completion and post-graduate education, where the white-Black ratios approach and then exceed two to one.

These educational differences are mirrored in the occupational distribution. For the major categories in the United States Blacks, 9.9 percent of all employed persons, were underrepresented among some major groups and overrepresented among others, e.g.

Underrepresented	Black % 1986
Public officials and administrators	8.4
Financial managers	3.0
Marketing, advertising and relations managers	2.5
Properties and real estate managers	5.2
Accountants and auditors	5.6
Engineers	3.7
Mathematical and computer scientists	7.2
Physicians	3.3
Dentists	5.5
Registered nurses	6.7
College and university teachers	4.0
Social scientists and urban planners	5.5
Lawyers and judges	3.3

10 *Bureau of Labor Statistics, Press Release, February 5, 1988.*

Writers, artists, entertainers and athletes	5.2
Technicians	8.2
Sales supervisors and proprietors	4.0
Finance and business service sales representatives	3.9
Secretaries	6.9
Child care workers	8.3
Firefighting and fire prevention	7.3
Bartenders	3.1
Waiters and waitresses	5.1
Dental Assistants	4.2
Automobile mechanics	7.6
Telephone installers and repairers	8.1
Construction trades	7.1
Farm operators and managers	1.4
Overrepresented	Black % 1986
Prekindergarten and kindergarten teachers	13.9
Elementary school teachers	10.8
Educational and vocational counselors	12.9
Social workers	17.8
Licensed practical nurses	17.2
Sales cashiers	12.3
Administrative supervisors	10.8
Computer equipment operators	14.0
Typists	16.3
File Clerks	17.6
Duplicating, mail & office machine operators	16.9

Telephone operators	17.4
Postal clerks	29.8
Material recording, scheduling and distributing clerks	11.8
Adjusters and investigators	11.1
General office clerks	13.0
Data entry keyers	19.6
Teachers' aides	17.9
Private household service workers	23.9
Cleaners and servants	35.5
Police and detectives	14.6
Guards	19.0
Cooks	17.2
Short-order cooks	22.6
Food preparation kitchen workers	18.2
Waiters' and waitresses' assistants	15.1
Nursing aides, orderlies and assistants	29.5
Maids and housemen	29.8
Janitors and cleaners	22.9
Welfare service aides	22.5
Machine operators, assemblers and inspecto	14.7
Pressing machine operators	33.7*
Motor vehicle operators	14.8
Handlers, equipment cleaners, helpers and laborers	16.6

**The highest percentage of any occupation*
Source, U.S. Statistical Abstract, 1988, pp. 376-377

New York State data are less detailed but helpful. Taking the black share of the labor force as a benchmark 13 percent there appears to be a similar pattern of underrepresentation and overrepresentation:

Underrepresented	Black %	State Total
Private officials	5.5	25,487
Teachers, etc.	7.1	386,984
Sales occupations	6.3	764,036
Food service	8.5	336,359
Construction & extractive	7.6	260,531
Precision production	8.2	320,980
Overrepresented	**Black %**	**State Total**
Administrative support and clerical	14.4	1,637,894
Protective services	17.2	168,397
Private household services	42.7	53,296
Fabricators, assemblers	14.8	148,555
Transportation occupations	14.1	305,336
Handlers, helpers, laborers	14.3	300,459

Source: Anderson, op.cit., Table 6

While the federal data are more detailed there are important parallels between the two situations. Jobs in private management, construction, and the higher skilled trades have significantly fewer blacks in proportion to their share of the labor force. If there were equality of participation in the listed occupations the number of Blacks would increase by 89,486 or almost fifty percent. Obviously, this number would require refinement based on more detailed specifics, but the overall magnitude is instructive and provides a helpful information in developing more effective policies. They would also provide useful guidelines and experience as the state and nation begin to address in a serious way the imbalances and failures of labor market policies which affect Blacks and other minorities most directly and seriously.

Roger Waldinger[11] points out that despite the decline in public sector employment between 1970 and 1980 it provided jobs to increasing numbers of native-born blacks.

11 *Dissent, Fall, 1987, p. 521.*

42 percent of all New York City employees, and 52 percent of those hired, were black in 1985. Blacks in public employment were employed in managerial roles at twice the rate in the private sector, and many in these jobs have been promoted from lower ranks; they were the children of lower class and working class parents to a far greater extent than their white predecessors and counterparts. This illustrates Eli Ginzberg's general conclusion[12] that public employment tends to generate a higher share of "good" jobs than does the private sector; in New York - and presumably in other cities with large concentrations of Blacks - the public sector is more open and provides more career paths for blacks and other minorities than does the private sector. It follows that efforts to improve the employment status, and prospects of Blacks need to assure the development of a viable and expanding public sector.

The same is probably true of the non-profit sector, and may be the case in some parts of the overall service sector. While much is made of the "service economy" the term is far too inclusive to yield precise or useful inferences about the prospects of blacks and others in this new setting. As an example, the recent United States - Canada trade agreement covers more than 150 services ranging from insurance and architecture to computer services. Some services are strictly limited to local markets, while others are international. Services can be provided by very large companies - banks, insurance companies, airlines, by middle-size companies, or by very small firms, notably eating and drinking places, small retail shops, etc. Some are capital-intensive, e.g., air travel, telecommunications - while others are moderately or highly labor intensive, such as hospitals, legal and educational services. Some services find their primary market serving consumers, others serve industry, still others serve parts or all of the international market place. Service occupations are embedded in the production sector; one estimate is that 75 percent of workers in goods-producing firms carry out service functions.

An important aspect of the part of the service sector which deals with consumers is the direct role which workers play in relations to those who consume the services, and the importance of inter-personal skills and sensitivity in determining employment prospects and outcomes. Schools, health care, retail trade, entertainment, travel services, restaurants, recreation all involve workers and consumers in direct interaction. One barrier to opening job opportunities in the past was the expectation by employers that customers would prefer not to deal with blacks directly; it took long and hard effort to change employer behavior and choices in banking and other major employers where direct face to face dealings with customers are central.

The range of occupational characteristics and job requirements in services is enormous and poorly understood. In many cases so-called services workers hold jobs very much like those of production workers, porters, auto and airline mechanics, railroad engineers, bus drivers, forklift operators in warehouses, telephone linesmen, highway and sewer service and repairs are all examples of similarity. Across the spectrum one finds lawyers, accountants, bankers, teachers, waiters, nurses, airline stewardesses, policemen, firemen, doormen, janitors and housekeepers doing jobs uniquely service

12 *"The Job Problem," Scientific American, November 1977.*

in character. In both areas the jobs range from unskilled to highly skilled and carry pay levels reflecting these differences.

Common to both sectors, and increasing in importance, are clerical workers, once small and prestigious, now massive and growing. In these occupations the dominant tendency is standardization of tasks and job content, increasing mechanization - now computerization, and feminization. Between 1960 and 1977 the clerical work force in the United States grew from 9.8 million to 16.1 million, or 64 percent and the share of women from 68 to 79 percent.[13]

The U.S.Department of Labor estimates count the number of "general office" and "stock clerks in 1986 at 3,448,000 projected to increase to 4,136,000 by 2000 at a "moderate" rate of increase. Elsewhere the detailed occupational count for 1986 yields a total of 4,683,000 people working as information clerks (1,326,000),file clerks (311,000), bookkeepers, accounting and auditing clerks (2,007,000), postal clerks (299,000), and general office clerks (740,000).[14]

Problems and Policies

The analysis so far has focused on the nature and magnitude of the problems to be addressed and on the several dimensions of the problem. Policies must be cognizant of these dimensions and must deal with all of them. There are no quick fixes. Patterns of racism and exclusion are deeply rooted and long standing. At the same time there is growing recognition among policy makers and the public of the necessity to deal with inequities and imbalances. Moreover the basic climate for change has been improving; the economies of the State and the City continue to grow, the urgency of reversing the failures of public education is recognized and supported, employers increasingly understand the degree to which their own well being depends on the quality and productivity of the labor force of the future, and the changing number and composition of the young, who are the work force of the future, supports a cautious optimism.

Policy Guidelines

1. Programs must deal with the full range of problems. Underemployed workers have their own needs and concerns, which are different from new entrants. Skilled workers whose skills are in danger of obsolescence need a different mix than workers who have never acquired adequate levels of skill and/or education. Men and women face some common but also some different problems; the burdens of child care and family sup-

13 *Evelyn Nakano Glenn and Roslyn L. Feldberg, "Proletarianizing Clerical Work: Technology and Organizational Contact in the Office," in Andrew Zimbalist, ed., Case Studies on the Labor Process. Monthly Review Press, 1979, p. 55.*

14 *U.S. Statistical Abstract, 1988, pp. 375, 376.*

port fall with special force on Black women who are the sole supports for themselves and their families.[15] School dropouts with little or no labor market connections or experience will pose a major challenge to program and policy. These illustrate the point that the issue has many facets and dimensions.

2. A better balance is needed between measures designed to improve skills and labor market qualifications of job-seekers real and potential, and measures which place greater burdens of performance and proof on employers for the standards they establish and the decisions they make with regard to how jobs are allocated, who gets hired or promoted, and who is excluded. In the past, U.S. policies and programs have placed most of the emphasis on the "supply side" of the labor market but evidence has been accumulating for many years that the "demand side" has a burden which it has generally not been required to meet. The most successful policies and experience in other societies support this need for balance as well as the consistency between requiring fair and open treatment of job seekers and the conventional goals of productivity, efficiency and profit.

3. Government - state and local, employers - public, private and non-profit, unions, are all implicated and all have roles to play. While government must set the tone, articulate the priorities, and demonstrate its commitment it must also enlist the other actors in the process and must provide several ingredients: the moral and pragmatic message of necessity, the resources needed, the legislative and administrative framework, and the power of its own example in a State where the 1.4 million government employees represent 17 percent of all employment (1986 figures).

4. New York City holds the key to success or failure, given the major role which the city's economy plays in the state. The imbalances which distinguish the post-1977 period from that prior to the decline which began in 1969-70 underscore the importance of addressing and redressing the failures of the city's economy to provide a fair share to blacks and other minorities.

5. A declining cohort of youth, white and nonwhite, should provide a favorable context in which to address the special issues facing teenagers in their careers as students and in their transition from school to work.

6. Racially based barriers to employment opportunity must be directly addressed. Blacks and Hispanics are underrepresented in sectors of the private economy which are expanding, and overrepresented in lower level jobs and in stagnant or declining sectors of the economy, particularly in New York City. Walter Stafford's path-breaking study found[16] that 68 percentof all Blacks worked in 20 of the city's 212 industries in 1982, that Blacks and Hispanics are "virtually excluded" from 130 of 193 private sector

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15 *The proportion of families headed by women in New York City is 25 percent, compared to a national figure of 15 percent.*

16 *Walter W. Stafford, Closed Labor Markets: Underrepresentation of Blacks, Hispanics and Women in New York City's Core Industries and Jobs, Community Service Society, 1985.*

industries, and had achieved something like proportional representation in only four: banks, department stores, health care, and the telephone company. Blacks and Hispanics with appropriate education were underrepresented in professional and managerial jobs, with only a few exceptions.

7. Effective initiatives designed to open doors for the excluded or to build more accessible pathways to upward mobility exist but share scarce resources with efforts which have poor track records, limited understanding of what is required, and little or no assessment of their performance. When funding comes, as it often does, from government better mechanisms than now exist are needed to separate sheep from goats, performers from time-servers, the effective from the politically well-connected.

8. Finally, the macro climate counts even though it does not achieve everything by itself. John Kennedy liked to argue that "a rising tide lifts all boats" but experience has shown that there are limits and exceptions. The State can do much to improve balance in labor markets through its programs of economic development and growth. The more effective these efforts the easier it becomes to carry out more targeted initiatives focused on particular groups and needs.

Specific Recommendations (and rationale)

The Reagan period, and the years immediately preceding it, demonstrate that lack of initiative at the federal level need not consign states and localities to ineffectiveness. Indeed we have seen and will continue to see a new flowering of initiatives and experiments by state and local governments across the entire spectrum of economic and social policy, including prisons and criminal justice, early childhood education, welfare reform, employer-school partnerships, industrial renewal, and a range of other efforts In a way the nation is becoming a vast array of laboratories where new models, new experiments, new approaches are being tested, refined, assessed, institutionalized. New York State is one of the leading players in this new scenario. We are well equipped by talent, motivation, and a recognized urgent need to expand an inventory of approaches to address Black unemployment and underemployment.

New York's economy grew during the post-war period, until the late 1960s. Thereafter a sharp and sustained contraction occurred which was particularly burdensome for blacks and others in manufacturing and in other vulnerable, stagnant or declining industries. The fiscal crisis which engulfed New York City in the mid-1970s sharply curtailed public expenditures intended to provide young people with the education they needed, and forced cutbacks in the public sector where blacks have found opportunities to work and advance well above those in most of the private sector, with some notable exceptions. A stagnant labor market inevitably reduces job opportunities, permits employers to cream the pool of applicants, weakens union ability to organize and negotiate on behalf of the people represented, and limits the ability of government to enforce affirmative action and equal opportunity measures even in a progressive administration. All of these forces were at work in the post-1969 decline.

The problem we face now is how to redress inequalities which continue in a period of economic expansion when, presumably, the climate is more favorable and lowered

rate of unemployment limit the ability of employers to pick and choose, to utilize criteria which limit or exclude Blacks and others, and which improve profits so that the employer can take more of a risk. As we have seen, these forces have so far made only limited impact on the problems facing Black and other minority workers.

One problem has been the geographic unevenness of economic expansion. In New York State nearly one county in three experienced job declines during the expansion of post-1977 period. In New York City, 73 percent of the total increase in private sector jobs between 1977 and 1987 took place in Manhattan, though all five boroughs showed growth in 1984-1986, for the first time in a decade, and four of five showed increases in 1987. Between 1977 and 1988 the number of private sector jobs in New York City increased by 424,000; during this same period resident employment grew by 284,700, equal to 67.1 percent of the total increase in jobs. The rate at which city residents filled these new jobs was low in the 1977-1981 period, when they filled only 38.8 percent of all new private sector jobs. From 1981 to 1988 this picture improved; 87.1 percent of all new jobs were filled by residents.[17]

Outside New York the decline of steel and other manufacturing, particularly in the Buffalo and Tarrytown areas, imposed significant losses and raised unemployment levels. And both inside the city and elsewhere the steady decline of manufacturing, particularly in garments, has closed historic doors of opportunity to workers who historically found their point of entry in these jobs.

State and city policies could deal more effectively with these trends and their impact:

Manufacturing

New initiatives to revive and modernize manufacturing are under way in many places including New York. The blend of initiatives include developing and disseminating new technology, providing improved market information and marketing support, training and retraining workers for more sophisticated roles, providing investment and working capital to employers, etc. Attractive models from northern Italy, Denmark, Germany and other newly reindustrialized areas indicate that areas of economic decline can effectively redevelop an industrial base which provides jobs at good wages to unemployed and underemployed workers. New York has taken part in the studies and discussions which grow out of these models and has committed modest resources and expertise to pursuing them further. This is a direction worth pursuing and well worth monitoring in the future. New York has people well versed in these models and able to analyze and implement them, first as demonstrations and later on a larger scale.

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17 *"Report on Key New York City Economic Indicators: Spotlight on NYC Personal Income 1980-1987, NYC Employment By Borough 1977-1987." Program Planners, Inc., pp. 11-12, 26.*

Black Enterprise

The evidence at hand suggests that promotion of specifically Black enterprise will not help much. In 1982 in the U. S. there were a total of 339,239 black-owned firms, slightly over two percent of all firms, up slightly from the 1.4 percent figure shown for 1972. But the number of Black-owned firms employing others fell over this period from 17 percent to 11 percent. Total employment in Black-owned firms in 1982 was 165,765, about the same as in 1977, most of it in the larger firms which themselves are not very numerous; in 1984 there were 136 firms with 100 or more employees, a tiny fraction of the national total.

Measures to encourage Black ownership have important symbolic and status value, however they are not likely to make any visible impact on the problem of Black unemployment and underemployment. They include minority preference for government contracts, bonding for construction and other firms where this is needed to compete, subsidized loans or capital grants, training, etc. The state's Office of Contract Compliance and Minority and Women-Owned Enterprise (OCC), which began operations in February, 1984, as well as the Urban Development Corporation (UDC) have been assigned specific responsibility in this area. Funds for capital, minority set-asides under the New York State Dormitory Authority, support and training activities are all housed in one or more State agencies. Our analysis indicates that these agencies are not well staffed or operated. The focus appears to be wholly or predominately on firms in construction to the exclusion of a wider spectrum, fragmentation of policy implementation among a variety of State agencies, a fair amount of "creaming"of firms to the neglect of the more marginal and struggling ones, which need help the most, all reflecting a routinization of the mission and a lack of commitment at the top of State government. More resources, better coordination and management, more effective monitoring, and more explicit guidelines to deal with the problems summarized would all help and should be pursued. The process, however, will be long and the rewards relatively modest, to judge from the record so far and the overall picture summarized earlier.

New and Small Business Development

Measures to encourage the formation of new firms and the stabilization of existing firms are important and appropriate to state and local government; indeed New York, like most states, already has invested substantially in economic development activities. In addition to the revival of manufacturing it is important that this work be informed and shaped by strategic criteria, including:

- focus on sectors and markets which are growing or likely to grow in the national regional and world economy;

- close and careful attention to the employment and work force aspects of economic development; these are too often treated separately, often in watertight compartments by agencies which seldom deal with one another, lack a common vocabulary and set of goals, and may even work, unintentionally, at cross-purposes. Development is something seen as best left to bankers, executives, tax authorities, real estate specialists etc. while employment is for trainers,

educators, perhaps unions. It would not be difficult, and would pay off well, to require all development financing programs to have a specific link to the employment, education and training resources of the state or the locality, not only to assure that development proposal do not fail because of the lack of skilled workers, but more specifically to assure that equal employment opportunity is provided to Black and other disadvantaged potential workers.

- explicit use of employment criteria when deciding on loan applications, tax subsidies or other benefits provided by government. By analogy to a widely used and well accepted concept in the field of environmental policy, public agencies could require an "employment impact statement" by employers seeking governmental help, and hold applicants accountable for the commitment which is made in the area of job opportunities, job stability and security, promotional access, training on the job, etc. Precedents exist which need to be used to develop and flesh out this idea, e.g. the Bausch & Lomb Optics Center in Rochester, and the Lillian Vernon Company's pledge to hire unemployed recipients of public assistance.

- careful attention to the problem of low-wage enterprise and "sweatshops" which have proliferated in recent years, particularly, but not only in New York City. While they affect immigrant workers, particularly from Central America and the Caribbean, more than Blacks they have the clear effect of lowering wage standards and hampering efforts to develop economic activity with decent levels of wages and opportunity. In one area of New York City, for example, we know of a major concentration of small knitting mills the majority of which are in violation of State labor laws regarding minimum wage, overtime health and safety, workers' and unemployment compensation, etc. It may be tempting to look the other way for the sake of jobs, however insecure and poorly paid, but this must be resisted by city and state government.

- explicit encouragement of unionization of new firms in order to be sure that standards are set and observed and that workers are provided the basic protection of the labor law. This is particularly important in this State, where the keystone of the Governor's economic policy is labor-management cooperation for public benefit and progress.[18] The contradiction of strong support for unions and their role in the state's economy, and ignoring the proliferation of non-union firms which violate both standards of workers' rights needs to be firmly addressed. The record here and in the nation shows that unionized workers are better off, more secure, and more productive.

- Finally one must caution against uncritical embrace of the idea that small firms are the major source of real and sustained of growth in the United States. Careful analysis shows that these claims are often inflated. Small firms have both high birth and high death rates. The range of skills is often limited, the level of management often inadequate and unprofessional, the mobility of workers constrained

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18 *"The Cuomo Commission Report - A New American Formula for a Strong Economy," Simon and Schuster, 1988, cf. especially Sections 7 and 8.*

and other job aspects not conducive to growth or stability. New York City in particular is, of course, dominated by small firms, many of which can and will provide opportunities to Blacks and others. It would help here to concentrate on activities which are clearly destined to grow in the future, and to assess firms by careful criteria dealing with their level of competence, their growth prospects, their grasp of the essential ingredients of survival and success, as well as their commitment to the goals of equal employment opportunity. The range of skills which new or expanding firms provide is an important criterion in determining whether and how best to support and help them.

Public and Nonprofit Sector

We have noted the importance of public employment in New York, and cited data showing how much better accessibility has been to upper level and managerial jobs in the public than in the private sector. The public sector also is highly unionized, and public employee unions in New York have been pioneers in developing programs of upward mobility for the people they represent. The recent work of two major State task forces - organized by the Commissioners of the Office of Mental Retardation and Developmental Disabilities and the Department of Health - are excellent examples of the possibility of new directions, new energies, and new program initiatives intended to open wider the doors of opportunity in these major sectors of employment. The successful effort to raise the wages and benefit levels for New York City's 50,000 home care workers, organized by a coalition of unions, hospitals, providers, and advocate groups will directly benefit a work force predominantly minority and female. These and earlier efforts link effectively and persuasively the need to raise the occupational prospects and rewards of minority workers and, by so doing, to improve standards of service which depend heavily on the qualifications, motivation and continuity of the work force.

Conventional thinking tends to divide the economy into "private" and "public" sectors but this is an oversimplification. Eli Ginzberg long ago called attention to the large and growing importance of non-profit activity, which is often linked to though legally independent of government. In a recent study Burton Weisbrod[19] estimates that the non-profit sector employs between 7.9 million and 10.3 million workers in the United States. They generally enjoy tax-exemption, reduced postal rates and other public benefits. Whether they exist primarily to benefit their own members - as in a trade union or a chamber of commerce, or to carry out activities beneficial to others - social services, health and medical care, religious activities, education, etc. they are the beneficiaries of public support and are committed to goals and activities which are seen to be in the public interest.

New York is particularly rich in its non-profit programs and agencies; they have an important role to play in opening the doors of opportunity, as many of them already have done. Many are directly involved as providers under contract with public agencies, employing large numbers of workers across the range of health and human ser-

19 *Burton A. Weisbrod, The Nonprofit Economy, Harvard University Press, 1988.*

vices in agencies of all sizes. The potential for improvement is great but a major effort would be required to establish and make operational the goals of equal opportunity, career development, access to good training, provision of educational credentials where appropriate, and the other ingredients of a serious program. The power of the public purse, and the tradition of public service, would provide major incentives in this direction. It should be made a priority in every jurisdiction of significance where public funds are expended to provide social, health and human services.

First Source

Five major cities have adopted in various forms a requirement that firms receiving contracts, tax preferences or other benefits from city government provide access to jobs for residents of that city. Boston, Baltimore, Portland, Minneapolis, San Francisco, and Washington have adopted in various forms a "first source" requirement. The nature of the benefit which triggers this requirement varies as does the designation of the group from whom potential job seekers is to be drawn. Some of these programs are based on a law or executive order; others are the result of a resolution of the city council or, in the case of Baltimore, an unwritten practice. In some cities the eligible pool is limited to people deemed eligible for federal Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA) services based on income and unemployment criteria; this appears to be the most common practice though in Washington any resident of the District of Columbia is eligible. Access to construction jobs is frequently a priority of the program but several cities use first source to target a range of jobs, generally - and logically - focussed on lower level and entry level positions. Employers are required or expected to adhere to the program when they receive low interest loans, are provided space in an enterprise zone, receive federal, state or local funds for capital needs, or benefit from the proceeds of special bond issues by state or local governments; the specifics vary among the cities. In most cases provision is made to conform to or to involve the union which has bargaining rights in the worksite or the industry, especially when the building trades are involved.

These programs were established in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Reporting of concrete results is sparse; Minneapolis appears to have placed significant numbers in recent years, but closer scrutiny would be needed to quantify results with any degree of confidence. Overall the approach is a logical application of the power of government to link important social goals to concrete economic assistance, and merits exploration and testing in New York. Such programs need careful design and monitoring as well as credible commitments to training, social and child support, and other aspects of a serious approach.

Building on JTPA

Compared with CETA which expired in 1981, JTPA is significantly more limited in program scope and funded at lower levels. Some states have developed programs which broaden or supplement JTPA; in New York these include adult literacy, customized job training, and the employment incentive tax credit. Such supplementation is needed and should be extended intelligently; the new "Liberty Scholarships" program is a good example of taking the lead and building policy on a model which has already been tested and validated.

These programs have generated significant black participation; data for fiscal year 1986 show these rates of participation:

Program	Participants Total	NY State Percent Black	Participant Total	NY City Percent Black
JTPA, II-A Adult and Youth	68575	40.4	37,755	26.2
JTPA, II-A Incentive Grant	1072	18.7		
JTPA, II-A Public Assistance	788	61.2	586	76.9

The incomplete data show significant Black participation in the main JTPA programs in communities with large Black populations. In Title II-A programs, Black participants comprise about 40 per cent of the total in Yorkers, 30 percent in Buffalo, and 40 percent in Syracuse. Information was not available, however, to indicate the proportion of Black participants who completed the programs and were placed in jobs.

The various programs for improving the skills and competence of workers and potential workers fall into several categories: in-school youth, summer programs, school drop-outs, job losers from economic or technical change, re-entrants into the labor force (mothers with children are the largest group) and, within that category welfare recipients. Clearly there are overlaps; people move from one group to another as their life situation changes. We have learned some things from more than twenty years experience with federal, state and local programs of education, training, work experience, etc.

IMPACT OF JOB TRAINING ON BLACK WORKERS

YOUTH PROGRAMS

Black youth were a major target group for the federally assisted programs developed and implemented during the past two decades. The programs can be classified in three groups, and the estimated participation of Black youth was as follows:

ESTIMATED BLACK YOUTH SHARE

1975-1980

Work Experience	48 Percent
Labor Market Preparation	37 Percent
Job Creation	42 Percent

Many models were pursued in each of these categories as local program operators designed training projects within the broad guidelines established by the federal funding agencies. The program evaluation evidence suggests differential effects of the programs on young participants.

WORK EXPERIENCE PROGRAMS

From their inception, youth employment programs placed heavy emphasis on work experience - i.e., part or full-time, subsidized work in public and non-profit organizations where youth can learn what it means to hold a job. Early versions of this strategy were found in the Neighborhood Youth Corps and the CETA Summer Youth Employment Program. More than half a million youth each year participated in such programs during the late 1960s and early 1970s.

There is little evidence that participation in these early programs contributed much to improving the labor market experience of the youth involved. Typically, the jobs were menial, required little effort, were poorly supervised, and provided service of little value to the community. Indeed, some critics of the early work experience programs considered them little more than "riot insurance," to reduce the threat of unrest in many urban communities.

The Youth Incentive Entitlement Pilot Projects (YIEPP) offered subsidized jobs to youth aged 16 to 19, who would remain in or return to school, and who maintained an acceptable school and work performance record. The program operated in 17 sites, and employed 76,000 low-income Youth. YIEPP increased the re-enrollment rate of dropouts by 55 percent in 1978 and 10 percent in 1979, but had no effect on re-enrollment rates in 1980. The Entitlement program also increased significantly the employment rate among black youth. A post-program follow-up study of program participants showed earnings gains of about $15 per week, with both high school graduates and non-graduates deriving positive benefit.

Young high school dropouts were included in the carefully monitored and evaluated Supported Work Demonstration. The program was designed to improve prospects through a mix of work experience, graduated stress and peer group support. The most disadvantaged youth were selected to participate. Supported Work, however, was not effective for young dropouts. Neither employment nor earnings of the youth dropouts exceeded that of the control group one year after leaving the program.

Finally, the Youth Community Improvement Projects tried to increase youth employment in the construction trades through short-term subsidized work in housing renova-

tion, weatherization, and similar tasks. A follow-up of the program showed higher levels of employment for participants three months after they left the program than for comparison group persons. Moreover, about a third of the program participants held construction jobs during the follow-up period - about three times the rate among non-participating control group person.

LABOR MARKET PREPARATION

A broad range of programs was developed to better prepare youth to enter the labor market. Such programs offered youth information on alternative careers, job search techniques, job placement assistance, and counseling on work attitudes and job retention. This strategy was based on the assumption that many youth were poorly motivated to work, or were unprepared to find a job even if they tried. Both in-school and out-of-school youth participated in pre-employment transition programs.

The impact of such programs was mixed. Some generated positive effects on youth job placement, attitudes toward work, and knowledge of job markets. Others had no measurable impact on youth job market preparation. The programs that seemed to produce best results were school-to-work programs tied closely to the private sector.

OCCUPATIONAL SKILL TRAINING

Youth programs that emphasized training to develop occupational skills seemed to pay off for their participants, especially youth who completed the programs. Perhaps the best example of this approach is the Job Corps, a product of the Great Society which survived numerous attempts to abolish it. Highly disadvantaged youth were recruited into the Jobs Corps where they received intensive basic skills remediation, occupational training, and supportive services to help improve their employment prospects.

Follow-up studies of Job Corps participants showed significant employment and earnings gains above those for non-participating control group persons up to four years after leaving the programs. The Job Corps raised weeks worked by three weeks per year, and earnings by about $655, or 15 percent. Job Corps participation was also favorably associated with a reduction in welfare dependency, an increase in acceptance into the military, and increased participation in post-program education and training. These results were most prevalent among youth who completed the program.

An analysis of CETA longitudinal survey data further confirms the positive impact of skills training. Classroom training produced earnings gains of about $200 per year for 17-18 year olds, and $280 for 15-21 year olds who were enrolled in 1976. On-the-job training generated even larger earnings gains: about $900 per year for the 17-18 year old group, and $600 for those aged 15-21 at the time of enrollment. Again, these results are subject to criticism based on the selection of the comparison group, but while the magnitude of the earnings effect might be questioned, the direction of impact is important, especially when compared with the results of work experience programs.

New York State needs to develop its own capacity to monitor and assess outcomes. The successes and failures of these and other programs should be calculated. New in-

itiatives for legislative action and funding to make sure that the overall package of federal and state programs is well designed and well integrated which will advance the goals established.

Evaluation research provides mixed evidence on the impact of employment and training programs aimed at improving the labor market experience of youth. But despite the limitations of the data, several themes emerge: a) skills training produces measurable gains in earnings; b) work experience alone has no positive impact, but when combined with other services, such as remedial education and job search training, it can generate positive results on employment; c) direct job creation can produce significant gains for youth in the public and non-profit sectors.

Unfortunately, youth employment programs have been focused disproportionately on in-school youth, despite much evidence that those in greatest need are school dropouts. There is no question that more effective efforts to improve the transition from school-to-work is an important national goal. With limited funds available for employment and training programs, however, the balance of support between in-school and out-school programs might well be altered in an effort to target more directly on the most difficult youth employment problems.

ADULT PROGRAMS

Most job training programs have been aimed at teenagers or young adults, and before JTPA, less than half the funds were used for "training," as that term would usually be understood. Further, little reliable evidence is available to permit a careful assessment of the impact of training programs on Black participants other than youth. Nonetheless, the few evaluation studies that are available suggest that classroom training for occupational skills, and on-the-job training paid off for Black program participants although, in many cases, at rates less than that for white participants.

It is difficult to generalize across job training programs as a whole. What can be said is that, well designed and skillfully administered job training programs have contributed to the improvement in labor market outcomes.

TOWARD A REFORM OF YOUTH EMPLOYMENT POLICY

For the first time in at least a quarter of a century youth are becoming a scare commodity. The significant decline in birthrates during the 1960's and 1970's has resulted in drastic reductions in the age cohorts which have traditionally accounted for the majority of the State's entry level workforce. The result will likely be much greater difficulty for firms in responding to the changing economy, and increasing their productivity.

The problems associated with the shrinking youth cohort are compounded by the fact that those who comprise it will be increasingly minority and economically disadvantaged youth, i.e. those for who schooling has been the least beneficial. The results of this mismatch between labor market needs and workforce capability will likely be increasing inefficiency and lost productivity.

The picture, however, need not be so glum. The other side of the youth shortage problem is youth employment opportunity. The relative shortage of young people should result in increased demand and wages for them in the labor market. With the overabundance of youth in the 1960's and 1970's, it was economically possible to discard a significant number of people because they simply were not needed in the labor market. Now, however, the situation is reversed, and every young person will be needed. The challenge, of course, is to provide young people with educational and occupational skills so that they are ready to take advantage of this opportunity.

Not only must we increase the quality and quantity of high school graduates, but also increase participation in postsecondary education and training. Furthermore, more education clearly pays off not only for the society, but also for the individual. Higher educational attainment produces the most dramatic increases in income levels for both men and women, and for members of all race and ethnic groups.

The first and foremost goal must be to improve the quality of the educational experience and graduate a much higher percentage of youth. Also, we must create a substantial emphasis on work readiness in our public schools, which is currently lacking in many places. In addition, more of our high school graduates must go on to postsecondary occupational-technical education and training to enhance their incomes and career opportunities, and to ensure that the economy has sufficient numbers of trained workers. Finally, youth and young adults who have already dropped out of the education system, and are unemployed, need appropriate and effective ways to get back into the social and economic "mainstream through training, work and education programs.

The following sections discuss promising approaches to some of these goals.

IMPROVING QUALITY: Teaching and Learning in Basic Education

A great deal has been learned over the past twenty years about what works in education -- effective practices of classroom instruction, creating a positive school climate, involving families, and building bridges to the business and postsecondary education communities. In short, as Albert Shanker has said, "what works is a matter of knowledge, not a matter of opinion."

However, practice in education has not kept pace with what research has shown to be effective in the classroom, in part because old habits die hard, and in part because of the isolation of teachers from one another and decision making in the schools. Therefore, the Department of Education must provide strong leadership to bridge the gap between what we know works and what is commonly practiced in our public schools.

Other measures that will help improve youth chances include special programs for in-school youth:

- Education for employment centers located in the public schools
- Improving work readiness and employment for the general (i.e., non-college bound) non-vocational education student
- Work readiness and transition service, for students with disabilities

- Youth service programs to promote civic responsibility and increase community awareness

- Testing for work readiness by placing Employment Service staff in schools

PROGRAMS AND SERVICES FOR OUT-OF SCHOOL YOUTH

Youth who have dropped out of school or who have graduated with no marketable skills often have a particularly difficult time finding employment. Once disassociated from the mainstream of social and economic activity, the youth are difficult to locate and bring back into programs.

Designing appropriate and successful program strategies is made more difficult by the differences within the population of out-of-school youth. For example, dropouts who have recently left school present different, and in many ways less difficult problems, than the dropout who has been out-of school and unemployed for several years. Likewise, young women who are parents and have left school have particular needs, as do criminal offenders and those with various social pathologies which make for difficulties in the workplace.

These differences suggest the need to tailor job training and education efforts as specifically as possible based on the situations of the target groups. Certainly in the case of pregnant or parenting teens and other recent dropouts from high school, significant efforts need to be made to bring these young people back into the educational system or some similar alternative. However, those who have been disassociated from the school or training systems for some time will likely need more careful and creative attention.

In fact, traditional job training programs have been largely unsuccessful in dealing with this hardest to serve population of young people. Twenty years or more of public programs have, with few exceptions, shown little benefit. Therefore, what appears to be necessary for this hardest to serve group is a very focused and targeted approach to reach those who have, for whatever reason, been screened out or otherwise unserved by previous public education and job training/employment programs. Strong consideration should also be given to delivering programs through special providers, such as community-based organizations and other entities with proven records of service to youth and the unemployed.

YOUTH IN THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM

Youth in the criminal justice system should be provided with more opportunities for education, training, and employment. While punishment for crimes is a societal necessity, every effort should be made to keep young people from becoming trapped in the revolving door of incarceration and recidivism. Through increased attention to assessment, education and training, and job counseling and placement, incarcerated youth would be likely to become repeat offenders.

Training for Out-Of School Youth
with Direct Links to Employers

In some areas of New York, employers are already experiencing labor shortages or at least considerable difficulty in finding work-ready people who can fill their employment needs. The tragic irony in this so-called full employment economy or labor shortage is that thousands of workers in the same areas want and need jobs, but have inadequate skills to get them.

This apparent mismatch between education and training skills of a region's young people and the needs of employers is, on the one hand, frustratingly indicative of what is wrong with our current social structure and, at the same time a significant and important opportunity for productive change. The opportunity, in short, is to bring back into the mainstream of social and economic life people who have, for a number of reasons, been ill-served by traditional education and training systems. Therefore, by reaching out to unemployed youth and young adults with education and training linked to the real needs of employers, the needs of both youth and employers can be served.

No one should labor under the misconception that this merging of needs will happen easily or without a great deal of commitment and trust. Given the inducement of employment, currently unskilled and undereducated people will choose training, education and jobs. Given the availability of entry level job applicants who meet their needs, employers hopefully will hire local residents rather than seeking potential employees from other states.

The Governor, and perhaps only the Governor, has the prestige and authority sufficient to bring all key parties to the table to hammer out a successful partnership among the business community, public agencies responsible for education and training, and out-of-school youth, designed to produce entry-level workers for existing private sector jobs. Such a three-way partnership has the potential to bring substantial numbers of unemployed youth back into the labor force to the benefit not only of the private sector but the state economy as a whole.

WELFARE RECIPIENTS

There are nearly a half million families and individual cases currently dependent on welfare in New York. New York State officials estimate that more than 250,000 individuals in this category are employable given appropriate levels of education, training, and supportive services.

Eighty-two percent of all families on welfare are headed by single women. Although more than 50% of welfare recipients are white, a disproportionate number of single parents on welfare are Black (43%) or Hispanic (6.7%).

Twenty percent of mothers receiving AFDC have worked within the previous three years, but thirty-five percent have no work experience. However, the types of jobs held by many welfare recipients are disproportionately in non-skilled occupations, particularly in the service and labor sectors. It is clear from these indicators, that many welfare

recipients are ill-prepared for employment despite the fact that many welfare recipients can and do find jobs.

For most families and individuals, welfare is a temporary measure needed to help them through a short-term financial or personal crisis (e.g., job loss, divorce, separation). Nearly half of all Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) cases are open for two years or less. Many individuals on welfare need only limited employment and training services to help them find stable employment.

Of greater concern are those with a long-term dependence on welfare. Individuals who have been on assistance for two years or more are less likely to find jobs on their own. Others have serious barriers to employment including: lack of work history; lack of job reading skills; lack of vocational skills; inadequate educational preparation; and inability to speak and understand English. Some transitionally needy individuals have a history of drug or alcohol abuse or criminal records. Some are homeless.

Although the two major categories of employable welfare recipients -- single parents and individuals, classified as transitionally needy--have similar training and education needs, they have unique problems due to their individual and family status. For example, daycare and continued medical benefits are vital to enable single parents to participate in training and successfully enter the labor market.

Since the transitionally needy are largely single, non-disabled individuals between the ages of 18 and 45 without dependents, daycare and medical insurance are not as critical. However, because the transitionally needy have a relatively short period of time during which they are eligible for cash assistance, they need brief, intense levels of service to enable them to attain employability. Single parents with young children may be unable to participate in intensive programs due to the demands of childcare.

Title II of the Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA) Program is the single biggest source of funding for job training for welfare recipients. In 1986-87, 25,578 case welfare recipients were served by the JTPA programs, 41% of the total served by JTPA. However, this represents less than 22% of the employed caseload in New York.

Welfare recipients lucky enough to get into JTPA are typically those that are more skilled. For example, many JTPA programs require a high school diploma or a general equivalency diploma (GED). However, less than half of welfare recipients have this qualification.

While the State's adult literacy and adult basic education programs serve some welfare recipients, effective programs which focus on work-related literacy skills developed in a relatively short time period--the kind research shows are most effective are not readily available.

Those without a GED or high school diploma are often denied entry into vocational skills training because they lack basic skills. A referral to basic skills training can create serious motivational problems for individuals who did not do well in school the first time and who are seeking training to prepare for a job.

Successful efforts in helping people exchange a lifetime of dependency for a lifetime of accomplishment and pride through productive employment are likely to involve:

- A flexible work training program that accommodates remedial education, training, job placement, and continuing education;
- Encouragement for parents to support their children through their own efforts;
- Better case management and,
- A more effective child support enforcement program.

New York State officials should target its employment and training efforts on those with the greatest barriers to employment who are likely to remain on welfare extended periods of time, such as single parents who had their first child as a teenager, individuals who do not have a high school diploma, and individuals who have been on welfare for long periods with multiple barriers to employment. The JTPA Program is the largest source of dollars to fund training programs for welfare recipients. Because current performance standards emphasize high job placement rates at low cost, the needs of those with serious deficiencies in basic skills are not adequately addressed by the program. Employment and training programs which integrate literacy training, job readiness, supportive counseling, and other appropriate services are needed. Job training programs for individuals with multiple barriers to employment: must be of sufficient intensity and duration to enable attainment of the skills needed for employment. Multi-year programs are sometimes needed: for example, to move a person with a third grade reading level up three levels typically takes about 20 months. The welfare system should support a person with multiple barriers to employment who is trying to complete longer range programs.

Support Services

Supportive services are critical to enable welfare recipients and other low income persons to succeed in education and training programs and to make the transition to full-time employment. These services include:

- Child care (for both the currently disadvantaged and underemployed) which is convenient, affordable, and adequate during training, job search, and for a limited time, after job placement. Many entry level jobs do not pay enough for single parents to afford the full cost of child care. A major commitment of subsidized day care programming is needed to help single parents on welfare break the dependency cycle. Better use of private and federal resources is also needed, including leveraging them by careful application of State dollars.
- Transportation to education and training programs, to child care arrangements during training, job search, and sometimes after employment as well. In many rural areas, lack of a car can severely handicap an individual's ability to obtain employment or participate in training. Bus transportation, although available in urban areas, may be prohibitive due to cost.

- Stipends for limited periods of time for transitionally needy welfare recipients with multiple barriers to employment successfully participating in training programs. The demonstration projects providing job training for the transitionally needy should be carefully evaluated to determine the direction state policy should follow in this regard.

- Medical coverage during the transition to employment (preferably until it is available through the employer, or until income rises to the point where private insurance is affordable). Loss of Medical Assistance is a strong work disincentive for some welfare recipients. A medical insurance coverage system should be developed for welfare recipients who are working, with the costs on a sliding scale basis.

- Case management, supportive counseling and job readiness training are also needed to help welfare clients successfully enter and succeed in job training and education programs, and on the job. Adequate case management is needed to help clients successfully participate in opportunities for improving their employability.

EXPANDING AND MODERNIZING APPRENTICESHIP

The oldest and best tested of all training programs in the U.S. arsenal is apprenticeship, which is a joint federal-state operation. Periodic proposals have been made to extend the model beyond the traditional construction, printing and metal trades to embrace a wider range of occupations where the model could be applied. It includes a significant and protracted period of skill acquisition, didactic and theoretical learning which is integrated with the training, close supervision by fully skilled workers, and periodic certification of progress culminating in a certificate as a fully skilled worker. A decade ago the Service Employees International Union developed a set of apprenticeship proposals under contract with the U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training, to use the model in a range of health care occupations. Later, specific applications were developed and implemented under SEIU sponsorship, working with hospitals as employers and institutionalizing the process in the collective bargaining agreement.

State and city agencies should undertake a full exploration of the potential of the apprenticeship approach to meeting the particular needs of Black youth, which have been described earlier, as well as to younger workers who are in dead-end low-wage jobs in settings, like health care, where the potential is there for career advancement through skill improvement and acquisition of the appropriate academic and theoretical content. It is hard to overestimate the potential. The model has the further merit of engaging unions and employers in a relationship of mutual interest as well as social progress. Past efforts to expand and open apprenticeship for new groups and new approaches have often met resistance and have not been pursued energetically but the few cases in which this is not the case has shown that important benefits can be won and new doorways opened into some of the best jobs in today's and tomorrow's economy.

THE POTENTIAL OF THE INTERNAL LABOR MARKET

Efforts to open doorways of opportunity through the internal labor markets of employers have not been a significant aspect of the public programs of job training and education which began in earnest a quarter of a century ago in the United States. Yet the few efforts which were made in this arena have yielded rich rewards and offer strong support for a more intensive and energetic effort in the future. The reasons for this neglect need not be examined here, though they are worth our attention. Suffice it to say that in specific cases the potential of strategies to improve the upward mobility prospects of low-wage dead-end workers has been demonstrated to provide important lessons and grounds for optimism.

One of the earliest and largest was the program to upgrade nurses' aides to licensed practical nurses (LPNs) in the New York City municipal hospitals in 1964-67. Proposed by District Council 37 of AFSCME, supported by the U.S. Department of Labor, and jointly administered by the union and the employer, this program trained several hundred nurses' aides, mostly female, minority, many poorly educated, many the sole supports of their families. They had worked as aides often for many years with no prospect of advancing up any career ladder because it was necessary, and still is in most places, to enroll full-time in a nursing school if one wished to achieve licensed status. In addition to meeting entrance requirements which were often too stiff for this group - as they are for many millions of workers in health care today - such a choice of action would mean exchanging a job for student status, losing both the ability to support oneself and one's family and the rights which go with seniority on the job.

The program design reversed these conditions, with impressive results. Enrollees could continue to work and earn, though their earnings were less because they worked fewer hours while enrolled in the program. Imaginative federal funding provided stipends for them as students, to help make up the loss of pay. Classes and training were scheduled to make it possible to work half-time, study half-time, extend the full length of the course beyond the normal full-time period. Social services, tutoring and remedial classes, academic counseling and other needed supports were provided.

The enthusiasm among the overall work force was enormous; thousands applied for the few hundred slots available. Drop-outs were confined to personal and medical emergencies and other drastic causes. Completion and licensure rates met and exceeded the highest levels yet achieved in federal training programs in nursing. After the experimental period, and until the drastic effects of the city's fiscal crisis hit in the mid-1970s, union and employer incorporated the program into the collective bargaining agreement and institutionalized upward mobility for career development as a normal part of the relationship between union, hospital workers and hospital administration.

Today we read of nursing shortages and desperate measures to recruit trained nurses, while thousands of motivated and potential qualified candidates work every day in the same hospitals which are spending money and effort, generally in vain, to recruit nurses from abroad or entice nurses who have left the profession back to work. We saw earlier that nationally Blacks are underrepresented in nursing. In the State as in the nation there are many areas of underrepresentation which can be approached through the development of more accessible models of upward mobility and career develop-

ment through the ranks of the firm, the agency, or the governmental unit where people work. The attractions are evident: people already at work have demonstrated their commitment and learned the key skills of value to employers; they are a known, not an unknown quantity. In moderately large, as well as in very large settings the exercise is in principle/straightforward:

- The existing pathways to promotional opportunity are charted and analyzed to show how they are or are not used effectively;
- alternatives are developed and tested, designed to increase the rate of use and the success of those who try;
- management at middle and supervisory levels are encouraged and rewarded to identify people with the potential and recommend them for a "talent bank" or other inventory of people suited and motivated to move up;
- training and educational criteria are reformulated to reflect more accurately both the short-term needs for success at specific stages, and the long-term needs for career development for those who seek it;
- job criteria are reanalyzed to determine rationality and job relevance and to redefine the standards so that they are clear to all who need to know;
- job "ladders" and "lattices" are carefully identified so that people can know and use those avenues of advancement which best meet their own and their employers' needs;
- skill shortage areas are systematically charted and updated so that managers can plan ahead to recruit "from below" in the most effective way to meet future needs.

Not many human resources or personnel departments can perform all of these tasks but all are learnable and doable in both the private and the public sectors, once those in charge have made clear their commitment to a career development system and their decision to use the resources needed to make it real and effective.

Students and practitioners with some experience will recognize here echoes of the "new careers in human services" and other paraprofessional programs which first were developed in the 1960s. In most respects the record from that period and after justifies considerable confidence that they have important lessons and valuable precedents to help deal with today's and tomorrow's problems of labor market policy for blacks and others.

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

Affirmative action has been in some respects the most important labor market program of the past quarter century, even though it was seldom identified as such by analysts or policy makers. Mandating that employers or unions change their policies and behavior in order to improve access to jobs for Blacks, women, older workers, or others covered by legislation smacks more of law enforcement and the courts than of

labor market policy. Yet a moment's reflection will support the conclusion that equal rights mandates can and should help the proponents of better jobs for Blacks and others to operate labor market programs more effectively. When the targets of affirmative action are convinced that the authorities have the power to make change and mean to do so, doors will open through which those who have constructive solutions to offer can walk and find a welcome.

Consider the relation of affirmative action to the internal labor market discussion which precedes this section. Employers facing penalties because they have failed to meet affirmative action criteria have strong incentives to act effectively, in ways which minimize the pain and maximize their own self-interest, once they have been forced to face up to the necessity. And others, seeing how the winds blow, will seek to act to prevent the strong arm of affirmative action lawsuits and to develop a record and a set of policies which are designed to ward off the potential blow.

Affirmative action works best when the overall conditions in labor markets are strong rather than weak, when employers as well as white workers can see scenarios which help the victimized to progress without imposing layoffs or other hardships on those at work; this is most likely when labor markets are tight and jobs are looking for workers. But a strong commitment on the part of government to use its powers in such circumstance is equally required. Without it we will see many cases like those we now face where officially tight labor markets, as measured by low rates of unemployment, coexist with low rates of participation, large scale underemployment, and continuing patterns of underrepresentation in better jobs, occupations and areas of the economy. Government therefore has the dual obligation of improving the climate of the economy and enforcing the law.

THE ROLE OF HIGHER EDUCATION

The problems of school dropouts, educational failure, and a poorly educated, unqualified post-secondary school population have received massive attention in recent years and need not be rehased here. The essential issues are well understood: better teaching, higher standards for school graduation, less bureaucracy in public schools, adequate funding for urban school systems, better leadership and public respect for schools and schooling, and strong involvement by employers and unions in the educational enterprise are all part of the solution.

Less attention has been paid to the role of the two and four year post-secondary institutions. Declining enrollment, which stimulated some concern about relevance and economic reward from post-secondary education, has generally been reversed though some sectors are still hurting badly. In general higher educational institutions have limited their response to the crisis of inequality in labor markets to programs designed to recruit and retain more young people from minority populations. Yet we saw earlier that black-white ratios have not improved very much and in some cases - medical education is one example - the share of students represented by blacks has been declining in recent years.

Higher education and the credentials which it provides remain important for economic success both substantively and symbolically. Blacks in the 1980s have achieved a share of degrees closer to their share of the population than was true in the

past, but still well below the white rate. In terms both of the accumulation of "human capital" as measured by level of education, and of the "rate of return" on human capital as reflected in the occupational distribution, Blacks have not reached anything like equality. Much more needs to be done in both areas.

One problem is that colleges and universities have little experience or motivation in the education or reeducation of working people. Their historic constituency has been and remains the young, preferably with decent precollegiate education and the ability to satisfy entrance criteria and to manage the challenges of the normal academic process. When pressure rose to recruit and extend greater opportunity to Blacks in the 1960s, the general response was to cream the younger Black population, seeking Black counterparts to their normal student bodies; this was true across the spectrum, from elite institutions to large state universities In certain cases - California and New York are major examples - the entire system was expanded to provide entry to all who completed secondary school but the rank order of preference was not changed; those with the best grades went to the best places, while others settled for a series of slots ranging downward. Higher education for adults generally was relegated to evening divisions, often non-credit, part-time and evening study, with lower standards of admission, faculty recruitment, and completion even though it might be all that a working person could manage, was lower in status and budget than full-time, daytime schooling.

Some important efforts have been made to change this model and to increase the degree of access to, and reward from, less conventional forms of education for adults and working people generally. In New York and elsewhere some unions have teamed up with colleges or universities to provide higher education, including undergraduate degrees, to qualified members. Empire State College operates learning centers for adults in many places and in New York City a labor college intended for trade union officials and members, with particular focus on work, workers, the workplace, and labor-management relations. City College and Queens College are units of the City University of New York which provide undergraduate education of quality to workers, with strong support from a variety of unions in the city. These are important precedents though they remain small relative to the overall size of the higher education industry in the State.

One of the principles at work in these models is the validation of life-based learning as part of the degree package, on the logical premise that a life at work can yield verifiable insight into many academic disciplines, including both the humanities and the social sciences. The Educational Training Service supported extensive field work and validation of the principle in several hundred institutions of higher education in the 1970s, culminating in 1976 with the founding of a national organization, now known as the Council for Adult and Experiential Learning (CAEL), headquartered in Columbia, Maryland.

Since 1982 this and other organizations have been actively involved in programs of re-education for unionized workers in declining industries like autos, communications, paper manufacture and others. Many thousands of workers have been enrolled in classes and skill centers, learning new skills and acquiring the academic and theoretical knowledge needed to work in knowledge-related sectors and occupations, repair and maintenance, human and social services, etc. A central role is played by the individualized process of career and life planning, which develops educational and training curricula based on a worker's own choices, talents, and priorities. A key to this process is

the mutual adaptation of worker as student, and the college or university. In this area CAEL has made a major contribution by extensive orientation and sensitizing of academic institutions and their faculties to the learning styles, needs, concerns, insecurities and potential of worker-students. Workers are taught to demystify how academic learning and teaching takes place and to articulate and seek their own fulfillment and needs, while their academic counterparts are socialized around the twin poles of assessment of experiential learning for academic credit, and the challenges and rewards of bringing academic learning to.working people, many of whom may never have set foot on a campus or have been away from any serious learning experience for decades.

The results so far have been impressive and have attracted increasing attention from unions and employers facing the problems associated with redundancy on the one hand, mismatch of skills and needs on the other. The implications for other groups, particularly those who are the focus of this study, would seem to be important and worth close attention. While our colleges and universities often try hard to recruit and educate Blacks and other unconventional components of a student body they often find themselves ill equipped to understand and respond effectively to the problems they face. It is tempting to "blame the victims" for poor performance and high dropout rates in academia, but the educators have much to learn and do in the future. In CAEL and other innovative programs lie many of the seeds of a more effective approach to post-secondary education for those who need it most. In Philadelphia, Cleveland, Toledo, Cincinnati, Chicago, St. Louis, and Kansas City programs developed in accordance with this model are already in operation.

The Massachusetts Workplace Education Initiative is a large-scale effort to deal with illiteracy among workers, to prepare workers for job changes and shifts in the pattern of demand in the labor market, and to enable dead-end workers in low paying jobs to find routes out and up. The project operates out of the State's Executive Office of Economic Affairs, a direct and appropriate link between the training and education areas and the area of economic policy and development, which are usually separated and compartmentalized. Its focus includes strong partnership arrangements among employers, unions, and educational institutions. In fiscal year 1988 fifteen projects were in operation state-wide in Boston and other cities across the Commonwealth. Some deal with English for foreign language workers whose first languages include Spanish, Portuguese, Vietnamese, and Cambodian. Some provide mathematics, communication skills, and high school equivalency. Some focus on the internal labor market in health care. Some involve a single employer, others a consortia in an industry or community. Strong support at the state level, involvement of community and four year colleges, hands-on role for unions, and good technical expertise all contribute to an exciting and promising program which takes a long-run approach and stresses the close connection between the health of the state and local economies, and the quality of the wage-earning work force with particular focus on the most disadvantaged among them.

One of the program's strengths is its focus on middle-size and smaller firms, which are generally excluded - or exclude themselves - from education and training programs sponsored by government. Another is the focus on learning which is not specific to the worker's present or next job, but emphasizes basic skills and adaptability to a changing economy and workplace. A third is the close attention paid, as in CAEL, to the quality and sensitivity of the education provided by the colleges in order to be sure that it is

"user friendly" A fourth is the effort made to provide services which help workers to cope: tutoring, day care, counseling. And the close involvement of unions helps to assure workers that their needs and interests will be seen to and taken seriously.

General Observations

Change is the law of life and of modern economies. Government and private institutions need far better ways to anticipate as well as to plan for and respond to change. A key factor, generally not adequately dealt with, is the nature and characteristics of the work force. It is, for example, virtually impossible in New York - or anywhere else - to find serious and valid estimates of the likely degree of skill shortages or redundancies over any future period. While employers no doubt develop such estimates for their own use, no agency of government appears able to gather and assess the consequences for the economy, for education, for the training institutions, or for economic planning purposes. This means that new developments will, more often than not, take us by surprise and find us poorly prepared to cope. In a major article on the New York economy the New York Times spoke of "inadequate job training" and "a shortage of skilled workers" as key problems facing the economy of the city, plus the problem of a work force containing too many people with too little education to find anything better than the lowest-level jobs, with little chance for advancement, in the expanding service industries."[20] The social as well as the economic implications are likely, says the author, to be profound, even though official unemployment rates continue to drop and job rolls continue to grow, even after the stock market collapse of October, 1987. As an example of the "skills mismatch" the article cites the experience of New York Telephone, which has been a leader in recruiting minority workers, which had to test 60,000 applicants to find 3,000 qualified telephone operators.

In the face of these problems the posture of government as well as the private and non-profit sectors appears to many to lack an adequate sense of urgency and, perhaps more important, a strategic approach adequate to comprehending and dealing with the many facets of the problem which are discussed earlier. At the same time, there are examples of serious work which provides both grounds for hope and models for emulation; some have been described in earlier parts of this report. Notable is the recent work of the New York State Department of Health, which charged an expert task force in 1987 with the task of predicting the shape as well as the size of the health care work force by the year 2000 and addressing the particular needs and opportunities which the coming changes will pose for Blacks and other minorities.[21] It stressed these points:

- Health care accounted in 1987 for 715,000 jobs in New York State, nine percent of the total; by the year 2000 this number may grow by 330,000.

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20 *June 26, 1988.*

21 *Preliminary Report of the New York State Labor-Industry Task Force on Health Personnel, 1988.*

- Expected as well as existing shortages will require more imaginative and energetic responses to hire and train the needed numbers; the problem will be most acute among registered nurses, nurse aides, home care workers, social workers, mental health aides, and licensed practical nurses in nursing homes as well as in some of the more technical and professional occupations.

- Blacks and hispanics are underrepresented in the upper levels as measured by salary and skill levels with the exception of registered nurses.

- Government can and needs to do much more to reduce the disincentives to enter health care work and the barriers to advancement;

- "There is no planning process guiding the development of the health care labor force. There is no link between health planning and educational planning and there are insufficient data on the current work force and projected needs."

- Traditional and artificial barriers to opportunity, like licensure, scope of practice acts, and formal educational requirements, must be critically reassessed; if they remain valid they need to be made available more creatively and effectively than in the past to disadvantaged groups.

- Paraprofessional workers - e.g., those providing home health care - need upgrading of their status, training, salaries, benefits, and career development opportunities if we are to sustain the work force needed and provide services of the quality to which people are entitled.

- The health care system of the future will differ substantially from what we have known; we need to prepare the work force to adapt to those changes through intelligent planning and programs which put their stress on the longer term process and timetable.

- A work force increasingly including women must have access to programs of help and support which make it possible to work, raise a family, and maintain a home without forcing people to make harsh choices; government, employers and unions all have roles to play.

These are themes with much wider applicability than to health care alone. It is an encouraging sign that major State agencies have taken initiatives of this kind and in the process have committed themselves to an active leadership role in cooperation with all of the key agencies and institutions involved. The State and the City can encourage wide use of such a planning and consensus-building model around the key issues of the State and the City economy and the role of Black workers, along with others, in its future.

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